

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 CAPE T 00093 01 OF 02 231554Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----231557Z 016436 /44
O 231400Z JAN 77
FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5629

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 CAPE TOWN 0093

NODIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFLE FROM EDMONDSON

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR RH
SUBJ: RHODESIA: RICHARD'S TALK WITH SMITH, JAN. 21, 1977

REF: CAPE TOWN 0092

1. IVOR RICHARD SPENT OVER TWO HOURS WITH IAN SMITH, ACCOMPANIED BY DAVID SMITH AND VAN DER BYL ON JANUARY 21. THE MEETING WENT BETTER THAN RICHARD EXPECTED, AND THEY AGREED TO MEET AGAIN JANUARY 24, BY WHICH TIME SMITH WILL HAVE CONSULTED HIS CABINET. ALTHOUGH SMITH CONTINUED TO INSIST THAT THE BRITISH PROPOSALS WERE UNACCEPTABLE IN MANY RESPECTS, THEY HAD A DETAILED AND CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSION OF THE BRITISH PALER. HE MADE A NUMBER OF REASONABLE POINTS WHICH RICHARD THOUGHT MIGHT BE ACCOMMODATED THOUGH SOME OF HIS OBJECTIONS WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR THE NATIONALISTS TO MEET. RICHARD MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE BRITISH WERE NOT ASKING HIS GOVERNMENT TO AGREE TO THE PROPOSALS AT THIS STAGE, BUT SIMPLY TO ACCEPT THEM AS A POSSIBLE BASIS FOR SERIOUS NEGOTIATION.

2. 2. THE RHODESIANS WERE VERY RELUCTANT TO ACCEPT AT FACE VALUE THE ASSURANCES WHICH THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS HAD GIVEN
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 CAPE T 00093 01 OF 02 231554Z

RICHARD, WHO SAID THAT THEIR (PRESUMABLY THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS') AGREEMENT WAS NECESSARY IF THE WAR WAS TO END, AND THAT THDY WOULD HAVE TO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO ACCEPTING ANY AGREEMENT REACHED AT GENEVA ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT.

3. THE RHODESIANS ASKED WHETHER A SETTLEMENT WHICH BROUGHT

THE WAR TO AN END; AND ENABLED SANCTIONS TO BE LIFTED; HAD TO BE BASED ON THE BRITISH PROPOSALS, AND AT ONE POINT ASKED FOR RICHARD'S VIEWS ON A REFERENDUM. THEY DID NOT SEEK TO DRAW RICHARD OUT ON THE "INTERNAL OPTION", HOWEVER, NOR DID THEY MENTION A TREATY.

4. SMITH COMPLAINED ABOUT THE PROPOSED COMPOSITION OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ON TWO SCORES; FIRST THAT ROOM WAS BEING FOUND FOR NON-RF WHITES WHO HAD BEEN DEFEATED REGULARLY IN ELECTIONS, AND SECOND, THAT ON THE OTHER HAND THERE WAS NO PLACE FOR REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER IMPORTANT CURRENTS OF BLACK OPINION NOT INCLUDED AT GENEVA WHERE PARTICIPATION SEEMED TO HAVE BEEN ARRANGED AT THE BEHEST OF THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS. RICHARD TOLD SMITH THAT THE EXACT COMPOSITION OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WAS NEGOTIABLE, BUT THAT IF PARTICIPATION AT GENEVA WERE TO BE ALTERED, THE BRITISH MIGHT BE PRESSED TO REMOVE DELEGATIONS AS WELL AS TO ADD TO THEM. RICHARD MADE CLEAR THAT THE BRITISH WOULD INSIST THAT MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE REPRESENTED.

5. THE BRITISH PAPER WAS DISCUSSED IN DETAIL. THE RHODESIANS INTERPRETED PARAGRAPH 4(B) AS A BRITISH DECLARATION OF INTENT TO SCUTTLE IF FIGHTING CONTINUED DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD. OR IF THERE WAS INTERNAL TROUBLE. RICHARD REPLIED THAT IF THE AGREEMENTS ENTERED INTO AT GENEVA BROKE DOWN COMPLETELY, THIS WOULD BE INEVITABLE; BUT THAT THE PROPOSED BRITISH PRESENCE WAS POSTULATED UPON A CONTRACT ENTERED INTO BY ALL PARTIES, AS IN PARAGRAPH 4(A) OF THE PAPER.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 CAPE T 00093 01 OF 02 231554Z

6. THE RHODESIANS COMPLAINED THAT THE PROVISIONS IN KISSINGER'S PROPOSALS FOR PARITY IN THE COUNCIL OF STATE HAD BEEN ABANDONED, AND THAT THEY WOULD BE HEAVILY OUTVOTED IN THE ADVISORY COUNCIL. RICHARD SAID THAT THE ADVISORY COUNCIL WOULD NOT HAVE THE SAME FUNCTIONS.

7. IN A LENGTHY DISCUSSION ABOUT PARAGRAPHS 5 (5) AND 5 (6) OF THE BRITISH PAPER, THE RHODESIANS ARGUED THAT THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WOULD BE OBLIGED TO ASSENT TO ANY MEASURES PASSED BY THE BLACK MAJORITY IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WHICH DID NOT INVOLVE HIS RESERVE POWERS. ONE EXAMPLE GIVEN WAS AMENDMENT OF THE PUBLIC SERVICES ACT. RICHARD SAID THAT HE ENVISAGED A SERIES OF ASSURANCES INCORPORATED INTO THE AGREEMENTS EVENTUALLY REACHED AT GENEVA WHEREBY THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT, OF THE ADMINISTRATION, AND OF THE JUDICIARY WOULD REMAIN ESSENTIALLY UNCHANGED DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD. IN PARAGRAPH 5 (9) THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WOULD HAVE RESIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME FOR INDEPENDENCE, BY WHICH THE BRITISH MEANT THAT HE WOULD ACT

AS GUARANTOR OF THE GENEVA AGREEMENTS. THE BRITISH PLAN ALSO ENVISAGED THAT EXISTING RHODESIAN LAWS WOULD IN GENERAL BE VALIDATED BY ACT OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT. RICHARD ADDED THAT THE DEFINITION OF WHAT WERE NORMAL AND WHAT WERE IMPORTANT MATTERS COULD WELL BE A MATTER FOR SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATION.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 CAPE T 00093 02 OF 02 231603Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----231604Z 016477 /44
O 231400Z JAN 77
FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5630

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 CAPE TOWN 0093

NODIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFLE FROM EDMONDSON

8. UNDER PARAGRAPH 5 (8) OF THE PAPER, THE RHODESIANS OBJECTED THAT IF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER DID NOT ORDINARILY ATTEND THE MEETINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, THE LATTER MIGHT PASS DECREES WHICH INFRINGED UPON HIS RESERVE POWERS, E.G. IN THE FIELD OF SECURITY. RICHARD MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE SAW THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AS AN AUTONOMOUS BODY, WHICH THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS COULD NOT OVER-RULE IN THE EXERCISE OF ITS RESPONSIBILITIES FOR DEFENCE AND LAW AND ORDER, BUT HE AGREED THAT MORE PRECISE DRAFTING MIGHT BE REQUIRED.

9. THE RHODESIANS' CHIEF OBJECTION WAS TO PARAGRAPH 5 (13). THEY SAID THAT KISSINGER HAD ASSURED THEM IN PRETORIA THAT THE EXISTING MAIN STRUCTURE OF THE RHODESIAN ARMY WOULD BE RETAINED, AND THAT THIS FORMED PART OF THE PRETORIA AGREEMENT. SMITH SAID THAT HE HAD NO CONTROL OVER APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMED FORCES, WHICH WAS A MATTER FOR THE PUBLIC SERVICES BOARD. HE ACCEPTED THAT THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE CHANGES AFTER INDEPENDENCE, BUT THE WHOLE PURPOSE OF PRETORIA HAD BEEN TO MAINTAIN THE STATUS QUO IN ORDER TO GIVE SECURITY TO THE WHITES AND TO ALLOW TIME FOR THE TRAINING OF AFRICAN OFFICERS. BRITAIN'S SUGGESTION THAT THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER SHOULD BE EMPOWERED TO HIRE AND FIRE SENIOR OFFICERS WOULD CAUSE A BREAK-DOWN IN WHITE MORALE. HE

ALSO ATTACKED THE CONCEPT OF INTEGRATION OF THE RHODESIAN ARMY

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 CAPE T 00093 02 OF 02 231603Z

AND THE GUERRILLA FORCES. RICHARD REPLIED THAT THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, ON WHICH THERE WOULD BE A WHITE MAJORITY, WAS DESIGNED TO SAFEGUARD WHITE INTERESTS, AND THAT THE HARD CORE OF GUERRILLAS WHO MIGHT REMAIN AFTER AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN SET UP MUST BE BROUGHT UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. SMITH WAS NOT CONVINCED, AND IT WAS CLEAR THAT THESE ISSUES ARE LIKELY TO CAUSE GREAT DIFFICULTY IN FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS.

10# REICHARD REASSURED DAVID SMITH THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE TRUST FUND WAS EXACTLY AS IT HAD BEEN LAST AUTUMN, THOUGH THERE MIGHT HAVE TO BE SOME MINOR AMENDMENTS TO THE DETAILS, E.G. TO PROVIDE FOR REPRESENTATION OF MAJOR DONORS ON THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES. THE RHODESIANS SEEMED CONTENT. THEY SAID THAT THERE MUST BE RHODESIAN REPRESENTATION ON THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES, AND ASKED A NUMBER OF DETAILED QUESTIONS ABOUT PENSION FUNDS HELD BY MUNICIPALITIES AND THE POSSIBILITY OF ADMINISTERING THE FUND FROM SWITZERLAND.

11. THE RHODESIANS ASKED ABOUT CITIZENSHIP AND ALSO INDICATED THAT THEY WANT THE CONFERENCE TO BE TRANSFERRED EITHER TO RHODESIA OR TO BRITAIN. RICHARD EXPLAINED THE DIFFICULTIES. SMITH SAID HE MIGHT BE ABLE TO ALLOW MUGABE AND SITHOLE INTO RHODESIA TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE, THOUGH OUTSIDE SALISBURY.

12. RICHARD CONCLUDED WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT SMITH WILL NOT REJECT THE BRITISH PROPOSALS OUT OF HAND, BUT THAT HE WILL SAY THAT IN ORDER TO PERSUADE WHITE RHODESIANS TO ACCEPT THEM THERE WILL HAVE TO BE SUBSTANTIAL ADDITIONS TO AND AMENDMENTS OF THEM. HE MAY WELL SUGGEST EARLY DISCUSSIONS TO IDENTIFY AREAS WHERE ADDITIONAL ASSURANCES COULD BE PROVIDED SO THAT THE STATUS QUO WILL NOT BE OVERTURNED, AS OPPOSED TO MODIFIED, DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD. IT IS ALSO STILL POSSIBLE THAT HE WILL PUT FORWARD COUNTER PROPOSALS BASED ON HIS INTERNAL OPTION.

BOWDLER

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 CAPE T 00093 02 OF 02 231603Z

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, INTERIM GOVERNMENT, PLANNING MEETINGS, NEGOTIATIONS, CAT-B, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 23-Jan-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977CAPET00093
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: OA
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: P840086-0967
Format: TEL
From: CAPE TOWN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770126/aaaaawwa.tel
Line Count: 219
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 93b7b7d2-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 77 CAPE TOWN 92
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 18-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3527527
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RHODESIA: RICHARD'S TALK WITH SMITH, JAN. 21, L977
TAGS: PFOR, PREL, PDEV, RH, UK, (RICHARD, IVOR), (SMITH, IAN), (SMITH, DAVID)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/93b7b7d2-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009